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A national framework of CPD: continuing professional development or continuing policy dominance?

As part of an emerging national framework of continuing professional development (CPD), teachers in Scotland will soon have a series of professional standards relating to key stages of their professional lives: initial teacher education; induction; chartered teacher and headship. This paper examines the processes and procedures used to develop two of these standards - the Standard for Full Registration (SFR) and the Standard for Chartered Teacher (SCT). It focuses particularly on the consultation procedures adopted with a view to identifying where the respective power and influence lies, and the extent to which the two developments can be seen to be part of a planned and coherent framework of CPD. Data from elite interviews and critical discourse analysis of both published and unpublished documents are used in analysing official accounts of the policy process as well as the underlying power governing its development. The paper concludes that the policy focus of the CPD framework limits the opportunity for members of the education community to consider alternative conceptions of teaching and education outwith a standards-based approach. It is argued that this approach allows for greater government control of the teaching profession.

Background

In 1999 the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) announced that a national framework of CPD would be developed for teachers in Scotland. A Ministerial Strategy Committee for Continuing Professional Development was established to take this forward, meeting for the first time in October 2000. This committee was to be

responsible for ‘developing and implementing a national strategy for CPD’ (SEED press release, SE2623/2000, 4 October 2000). The national framework for CPD consists of several components, namely: standards for initial teacher education; full registration; chartered teacher status and headship as well as procedures for ongoing staff development and review. However, the development and implementation of many of these components was well underway by the time the Ministerial Strategy Committee was formally established; the extent to which the Committee has responsibility for developing strategy is therefore debatable. Nonetheless, through examining the consultative approaches adopted for the SFR and SCT it is possible to identify areas where the Ministerial Strategy Committee has exerted influence, albeit on work whose origins predated the establishment of the Committee.

This paper examines consultation procedures for the development of the SFR and the SCT as two components of the national CPD framework. However, despite both coming under this umbrella, they serve quite different purposes. Firstly, the SFR exists primarily to fulfil statutory registration requirements in that it claims to provide ‘a professional standard against which reliable and consistent decisions can be made on the fitness of new teachers for full registration with the General Teaching Council Scotland’ (GTCS, 2001, p3), and in that sense is compulsory. It also aims to support early professional development through providing ‘a clear and concise description of the professional qualities and capabilities teachers are expected to develop during their probation or induction year’ (p3). The SCT on the other hand attempts to encapsulate the characteristics of the accomplished and experienced teacher. It is optional, has no statutory role, but does bring with it a fairly considerable increase in salary.

The differing nature of the two standards is significant to the argument put forward in this paper that the respective consultation procedures adopted, although different in many ways, have both served to increase government control of the teaching profession in Scotland through their promotion as components of a strategic framework.

Methodology

Critical policy analysis is a complex process, relying on the analysis of data from a number of sources, including official documentation and accounts of the policy formation process from those directly involved. The complexities of such analyses are not new. In his notable study of English education policy development from 1960 – 1974, Kogan (1975) acknowledges the significance of distinguishing between what happened and why it happened:

‘the main systematic difficulty was not in tracing the main policies... It was rather in determining relationships between the interest groups; in seeing who impacted on whom and with what effect; in identifying those who made the decisions...’

(Kogan, 1975, p21)

Kogan therefore advocates the use of a number of research approaches. In the Scottish context Humes (1986) and McPherson and Raab (1988) also discuss the contentious nature of gathering reliable evidence to substantiate claims about the respective power, influence and agendas of stakeholders.

In this paper the respective consultation procedures adopted in the development of the SFR and the SCT are examined within the context of policy development analysis, drawing on the work of Stephen Ball (1994) who suggests that policy analysis requires consideration of ‘the infrastructure of power/knowledge which ‘speaks’ policy’ (p108). Ball goes on to suggest that there are three principal ways of interpreting evidence, namely:

- the ‘how’ of policy which provides a descriptive account of what happened;
- the ‘why’ of policy which refers to the dominant discourse which permits some conceptualisations and philosophies and omits others; and
- the ‘because’ of policy which considers the wider structural and social context in which policy development takes place.

Humes (1997) stresses that asking the right questions is crucial to the successful interrogation of policies. He suggests that amongst other key questions, policy analysts should attend to the issue of where the responsibility resides for the successful implementation of the policy. This question will be addressed later.

Drawing on the above frameworks, both published and unpublished documentation together with interview data from elite figures in the educational establishment has been examined. The analysis of this data provides a clearer understanding of the interplay of power governing the discourse on CPD in Scotland.

Critical discourse analysis is a useful approach in such an investigation as it goes beyond issues of factual meaning to explore the social interaction which produces the discourse

as well as the historical and ideological concepts which help to shape its meaning (Wodak, 2001). Of particular relevance in this paper is the notion that effective use of critical discourse analysis involves not only analysis of what is included in the discourse, but also what is not included (Fairclough, 1995), as this too is controlled by the dominant participants.

The Standard for Full Registration

The SFR began life as part of the Teacher Induction Project – a joint funded initiative by the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS) and the Scottish Executive Education Department, where the initial remit was to develop a standard which would align with the competences outlined in the document *Guidelines for Initial Teacher Education Courses in Scotland* (SOEID, 1998). However, as the project progressed, developments in the quality assurance of initial teacher education (ITE) resulted in the publication of new benchmarks. The remit of the Teacher Induction Project was then changed to accommodate the new ITE standard, the justification being that the profession would expect coherence between the standards for ITE and induction. This seemingly logical rationale in reality had the power to dictate the philosophical underpinning of the SFR. It is interesting to note that there was no consultation either at this juncture, or at the inception of the Teacher Induction Project, to determine the conceptual underpinning of the Standard. In their examination of consultation on the development of the Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status, Hextall and Mahony (2000) report similar findings in relation to policy development in England, namely that the decision on whether or not to consult on particular aspects of policy development appears to be entirely in the hands of government and its officials.

The Teacher Induction Project employed a Development Officer - a lecturer in ITE, seconded for a twenty-three month period – and was overseen by a steering group. The steering group comprised one representative from a local authority (a director of education who chaired the group), two from faculties of education, a primary school head teacher, a secondary school head teacher, a representative from the Scottish Parent Teacher Council (SPTC), a SEED official, one member of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) and two GTCS officers. Interestingly, the group on whom the Standard would have most impact - new teachers - were not represented on the group, although they were consulted through other means such as informal group discussions with the Development Officer. With the exception of the SPTC representative all of the others were personally invited to become members of the steering group as a result of recommendation or networking; a clear example of what Humes (1986) refers to as 'patronage', a practice which ensures continuity of ideological thinking and little opportunity for divergent thinking or new approaches, thereby serving to maintain the status quo. Indeed, in interview a senior HMIE figure acknowledged that the process of identifying membership of working groups relied fairly heavily on inspectorate recommendation and *'could probably be improved upon'*.

As the Teacher Induction Project was a joint project between the GTCS and SEED, all progress had to meet with the approval of both bodies. However, as the project developed, it became clear that HMI, and then HMIE as it acquired agency status¹, was to take an increasingly influential role. While publicly HMIE was making great efforts to vindicate the change in their operations as a result of their agency status, arguing that it *'ring-fences the independence of HMIE'* (senior HMIE figure), in relation to the

development of the SFR it was very much business as usual, with HMIE playing a central role in its writing and editing.

Joint responsibility for the creation of the Standard undoubtedly contributed to the protracted timescale of its development. However, this protracted timescale was not extended to the consultation period: the draft version finally went out for public consultation on 25 September 2001, with responses to be made to the GTCS by 19 November 2001. The consultation launch was fairly low-key, and while the consultation document stated that it would also be available on the GTCS website, it appears not to have been available online until 10 December 2001 – almost a month after the closing date for responses.

Results of the consultation were not published, but the consultation document did state that all responses would be made available on request unless respondents indicated their wishes to the contrary. On making such a request to view the responses, 58 were made available, with the accompanying summary indicating that this was the total number of responses received. Given that there are approximately 75 000 registered teachers, 3000 schools, 32 local authorities and six teacher education institutions in Scotland, not to mention numerous education-related organisations and bodies, 58 responses would not seem to be a particularly large response to a national consultation exercise. The breakdown of respondent categories is shown in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1: SFR consultation response categories

[Insert figure 1 here]

Included in the documentary evidence available for inspection was the grid used to record amendments made, or action taken, in relation to each of the individual responses received. Individual issues raised in each of the responses had been collated and then attributed a category of either:

- ‘action’ (presumably meaning that the GTCS would follow-up, but not necessarily change, the SFR);
- ‘noted’ (implies no immediate action);
- ‘support and guidance’ (issue to be dealt with in documentation outlining induction framework); or
- ‘inserted’ (incorporated into revised SFR).

Interestingly, in addition to the above categories there was one other comment to be found in the ‘action’ column. In reference to a response that had expressed disappointment at merely being given the opportunity to comment on the detail of the proposals rather than being consulted on the underpinning philosophy of the SFR, the comment ‘incorrect statement!’ had been written. While of course this had not been written for publication, it does lend credibility to Bottery and Wright’s (2000) view that the effect of government control on the policy development process ‘is to limit the ability of citizens to think in terms other than those which policy-makers wish to prioritise’ (p59).

There was no way of telling from the material available for inspection whether the responses had been treated differently according to their origin, or whether some categories or sources of response were viewed as being more valuable or significant than

others. Of the fifty-eight responses, if each individual response was attributed equal value, then schools would have had the biggest say in the consultation, making up 38% of the total. However, as some of the responses from schools merely indicated agreement or approval at a very general level, then it is questionable how this type of response could be given equal weighting to one which considered issues in a more detailed and multifaceted way.

The responses varied greatly in terms of quality, quantity and focus. Some quite clearly, and perhaps quite rightly, were from single-cause groups and made little comment on wider issues. Other responses merely indicated general approval with the document, while some went through each paragraph and ‘professional standard’² in detail, indicating approval or otherwise and suggesting changes to wording. Other responses, however, made a much more conceptual analysis of the standard, querying its nature and purpose and its role in relation to the wider CPD framework. Many of the responses focused on issues related to the need for guidance on the implementation of the induction year (the first year of post-qualification teaching): issues which while connected to the SFR, were not within the scope of this consultation. Other frequently made points included a perceived need to review the ITE standard which was thought to be ‘over-demanding’, ‘too ambitious’ and ‘a lot to achieve in one year’.

It must be remembered that the status of the SFR differs to that of other standards in the framework in that it is obligatory in relation to the achievement of full registration, and has legislative backing. This was recognised in many of the responses, which questioned how the SFR could be seen as part of continuum of professional development if its primary role was to satisfy professional registration. Indeed one of the responses

suggested that ‘to bolt together systems which have been designed for different purposes may not be the best approach’.

Consistency in applying the Standard was seen as a contentious issue, with some respondents seeking clearer guidance on how judgements should be made, making the point that it was consistency of implementation that would allow the SFR to meet its primary objective. In relation to this point many respondents raised the issue of the status of the ‘holistic indicators’ which were to be seen as ‘a useful way of supporting judgements’ but ‘are not a formal part of the SFR’ (GTCS, 2001, p7). This seemingly contradictory statement could be seen to be an effort to appease critics of a competence-based standard. Hextall and Mahony (2000) report a similar position in relation to the English situation where it had been reported that Teacher Training Agency (TTA) officers ‘attempted to create covert pegs on which institutions could hang progressive interpretations of the Standards’ (p325). They go on to question the extent to which consistency of interpretation and implementation can be assured if this invitation to employ flexibility is taken up. Clear parallels can be seen here with the Scottish situation, where one respondent suggested that there is a ‘need for support in interpreting the Standard’.

The outcome of the SFR consultation exercise has not been published, either in terms of a summary of responses or an account of the approach used in their analysis. Indeed media focus at the time of the launch was more concerned with the potential use of the SFR as a benchmark in cases of alleged teacher incompetence than it was in its potential to support early professional development. In keeping with the low profile consultation,

the final version of the SFR was introduced to schools in June 2002 as part of a package of guidance on implementing the new induction procedures.

The Standard for Chartered Teacher

Tracing the development of what is now called the Chartered Teacher Programme is not entirely straightforward. Its origins can be tracked back to the 1998 consultation on the development of a national framework of CPD for teachers in Scotland (SOEID, 1998). That consultation highlighted the need to acknowledge and reward very good classroom teachers in an effort to encourage them to stay in the classroom. It was suggested that a standard for the 'expert teacher' be developed. The tender for the development of this standard was awarded in 2000 to a consortium comprising Arthur Andersen consultants and the Universities of Edinburgh and Strathclyde. However, with the publication of the McCrone Report (SEED, 2000) and subsequent Agreement (SEED, 2001), the brief of the project changed. What had started out life as the 'expert teacher' had become the 'chartered teacher'. The change was not purely lexical though, as the new status of chartered teacher was allied not only to professional recognition and professional development, but also to issues of salary and conditions.

The Chartered Teacher Programme team set out to engage in a wide-ranging and open consultation process to be driven principally by teachers' conceptions of the characteristics of the chartered teacher: indeed, it claimed to be 'a vehicle through which the opinion of the educational community is taken fully into account' (Chartered Teacher Programme, p5). The consultation took the form of two consultation papers disseminated to every teacher in Scotland, focus groups, interviews with 'accomplished practitioners' and a series of eight national conferences. Selected developments have been documented

on the Chartered Teacher Programme website at <http://www.ctprogrammescotland.org.uk>. The website itself was highlighted in Consultation Paper 1 (May 2001) as being an integral part of the consultation strategy yet interestingly contains only a small selection of papers, with no rationale for either their inclusion or for the exclusion of others. For example, an interim evaluation of the project was carried out in early 2002 and a paper outlining the impact of consultation on the development of the SCT was written in April 2002, yet neither of these papers are mentioned nor made available on the website. Nonetheless, it could be argued that in making information, albeit selected information, publicly available, there would be less likelihood of consultation procedures being queried or challenged. This is a fine example of how the CPD discourse can be influenced through control of the flow of information; the information that is in the public domain has not only been sifted for its suitability but also acts to detract interested parties from investigating other information that is not publicly available.

Two high profile members of the Chartered Teacher Programme team both stated in interview that the consultation exercise had been highly successful and that it had been truly open, one adding that it had been *'the most consultative process that I have been involved in; and it was successful too'*. However, this view was not echoed by a leading teacher union official, who claimed that the consultation in general, and the conferences in particular, had in reality been nothing more than a public relations road show, and had not been well received by members. This attempt at smoothing public relations is an acknowledged technique in the control of policy development, one which is also raised by Hextall and Mahony (2000) in relation to the TTA consultation on the Standards for Qualified Teacher Status where they cite a chair of school governors accusing the

exercise as being ‘an elaborate public relations exercise designed to give an impression of participation’ (p336).

The question of participation in consultation exercises is important, and in terms of quantity of participation, the SCT consultation could certainly be classed as successful. However, we should consider not only the number of people involved in the process but also the quality of their involvement and the relative importance with which their contributions were received. Responses to both Consultation Papers 1 and 2 were categorised into individual and organisational responses, summaries of which are available on the Chartered Teacher Programme website. However, there is no accompanying statement as to how the responses were analysed in creating the summaries, and the extent to which they each influenced successive versions of the SCT.

While seemingly positive about the process and outcomes of the chartered teacher consultation exercise, it would be unfair to suggest that the members of the project team interviewed in this study have been completely satisfied with the process. For example, Consultation Paper 1 (May 2001) was to be sent through the GTCS to the home of every registered teacher. However, this process was widely criticised, as many teachers had not realised that the consultation paper was contained within the GTCS publication, and had not therefore accessed it. Whether intentional or not, this approach may have served to discredit the significance of the GTCS, perhaps influencing the extent of its power in future CPD-related matters. Nonetheless, to teachers involved on the periphery of the Chartered Teacher Programme development, the team’s decision to distribute the second consultation paper (November 2001) via employers was seen as an attempt to make the consultation more democratic; it also served to bring employers on board. In interview

one of the project team claimed that this change in approach was as a result of a suggestion from the Ministerial Strategy Committee that the team '*really ought to be using the second consultation to link the employers and the teachers on this.*' When asked if the reason to disseminate the first consultation paper through the GTCS had therefore been to make explicit the links between teachers and their professional body, the question was evaded. This response would seem to suggest that the change of approach with the second consultation paper was more about appeasing those being consulted than it was about strategic planning.

Nonetheless, the consultation procedures adopted in the development of the SCT have generally been compared favourably to those adopted for the SFR, and have been viewed as being much more open, democratic and wide-ranging. Given the difference in status between the mandatory nature of the SFR and the optional nature of the SCT perhaps this is inevitable. After all, prospective chartered teachers will be customers, and as such, providers and facilitators will have to be seen to be responsive to customer demand. In addition, as the introduction of chartered teacher status came through the McCrone Report, SEED will surely have an interest in ensuring that its implementation is successful. Making teachers think that they truly do have a say in the development of the programme is one way of increasing the chances of success, or at least limiting the chances of teachers rejecting the development out of hand.

While clear comparisons can be drawn between the composition and selection of the respective groups involved in developing the SFR and the SCT, what is not so clear is the influence of the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD. The development of the CPD framework has not been sequential or linear; rather various aspects of it have originated

from different places for different reasons. However, the Ministerial Strategy Committee does have responsibility for developing CPD strategy, with one of its specific remits being to oversee the work of the Chartered Teacher Programme. The respective balance of power in this relationship is by no means clear. The official position is that the Ministerial Strategy Committee serves primarily as a steering group whereby representatives of all relevant stakeholders can offer advice and suggestions on the progress being made by the Chartered Teacher Programme team. Indeed, this was the line taken in interviews with both a civil servant and members of the Chartered Teacher Programme team. However, subsequent communication with one of the interviewees indicates a contrary reading of the situation. While the project team has heralded the success of their consultation on the grounds that it was driven by teacher perceptions of the characteristics of the expert teacher, the Ministerial Strategy Committee has requested that the Standard, which was primarily based on the evidence from teachers, be re-written to cohere more evidently with the SFR - in effect requesting that the project team abandon the very thing that they have been so determined to hold up as important. However, while this might appear to be an example of supreme interference at this stage, Consultation Paper 1 did actually state that ‘the Standard for Chartered Teacher is intended to align with the others [standards for ITE, full registration and headship]’ (p6). It is entirely conceivable, therefore, that adherence to this statement might be inconsistent with the earlier sentiment expressed that the project team did not have a pre-determined solution in mind. In policy terms this contradiction can be seen as an attempt to please all stakeholders by including a little bit of rhetoric for everybody.

Shared themes

Both the SFR and the SCT have been promoted as having credibility in the eyes of the profession through the involvement of key stakeholders: on the steering group in the case of the SFR and on the Ministerial Strategy Committee in the case of the SCT. However, in keeping with other such developments in the history of Scottish education, it would appear that membership of both groups was achieved through ‘patronage’ (Humes, 1986). Indeed, in announcing the establishment of the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD in November 1999, Sam Galbraith, the then Minister for Children and Education, stated that he was ‘inviting eminent people’ to serve on the Committee. So not only were those not deemed to be ‘eminent people’ denied membership, but membership was by invitation only and not therefore open to the profession in general. It is probably fair to say that to be judged as eminent in the eyes of the Minister for Children and Education, an individual would be expected to hold views which were both respected and encouraged by him, and would therefore be likely to act within the parameters of the dominant discourse on CPD. In the case of the Induction Steering Group, a similar pattern was employed whereby the Registrar of the GTCS and a senior civil servant agreed on who should be invited to join the group. To the outsider, though, it is convincing to know that a steering group has representatives from a variety of interested stakeholders, including schools. This is another clear case of public relations being brought to bear to make the control of policy development seem more palatable.

The validation of individual policy initiatives, such as the SFR and the SCT, is crucial to the success of the Government in creating their wider policy vision of a national CPD framework. Clearly in the case of both the SFR and the SCT consultation procedures, one of the driving forces has been to achieve consensus. Consultation for consensus is more akin to the effective selling of a policy vision than it is about the generation of helpful

advice, feedback and views on which to develop and change policy. While the consultation procedures in the two examples considered in this paper have been quite different in many ways, what they have had in common is their mutual pursuit of the acquiescent consensus so crucial to maintenance of the status quo. Fullan (1993) argues that this is quite the opposite of what we need if CPD is to support teachers in developing the capacity to deal effectively and positively with change, and goes on (Fullan, 1999) to claim that ‘Consensus would be pleasant, but actually is impossible to achieve except through superficial agreement.’ (Fullan, 1999, p22)

While it cannot be denied that teachers and other interested stakeholders were afforded the opportunity to comment on the development of both the SFR and the SCT, the extent to which consultation participants were informed on the subject under consultation is questionable. Consultation of this nature could then be classed as ‘superficial agreement’, and in reality is more akin to public validation of policy than it is true debate on the nature and purpose of the policy in question.

Nonetheless, if consensus has been agreed, whether the result of superficial agreement or not, we must now turn our attention to the next step in the process: policy implementation. This was, as noted earlier, one of the key questions put forward by Humes (1997) as being worthy of consideration in the policy analysis process. In terms of the SFR and the SCT, comment on issues of implementation, monitoring and evaluation are conspicuous by their absence. Nowhere in official statements is there specific mention of how policy implementation will be monitored or reviewed, or who will have responsibility for these functions. In considering the issue of monitoring more closely, it would seem logical to suggest that before decisions could be taken on the

effectiveness of policy implementation, there must be some agreed notion of what might be deemed to be effective in terms of outcome. As there was little evidence to be found in written documentation, interviewees involved in the study were asked what they would deem to be indicators of successful implementation of a national framework of CPD. Perhaps unsurprisingly there was a huge variety, including:

‘we haven’t worked up any precise or specific kind of success factors’ (civil servant)

‘continuing to evaluate a school in terms of the job it does for the quality of education for the children’ (senior HMIE figure)

‘better learning and teaching... status...money... teachers looking more enthused about what they are doing’ (member of Chartered Teacher Project Team)

‘Uptake [of CPD opportunities] ... so that schools can deliver what they’ve got in their plan because people acquire the skills to learn to do that’ (director of education)

‘if you create a really professionalised profession then people will complain if it is not good enough... there is a huge amount that will not have a realisable outcome and may not even be seen for the next twenty years’ (GTCS official)

‘significant enhancement in the quality of education provided by schools... more teachers formally pursuing lines of professional development... the quality of public discussion on educational issues would be enhanced...’ (dean of a faculty of education)

What was perhaps more revealing than the responses was the reaction to the question, almost as if it had come as a surprise to be asked what the indicators of an effective national system of CPD might be. It appears, then, that there is no clearly articulated position on indicators of effective implementation of national CPD policy, and certainly no published agreement. If we then extrapolate that this indicates SEED has no clear vision of what it is it wants as a result of all of this investment in the development of a CPD framework, then we must question why it is prepared to drive this particular policy, of which both the SFR and the SCT are part.

Divergent themes

As outlined earlier in the paper, the fundamental purposes of the SFR and SCT are quite different: one being a statutory requirement for professional registration and the other an optional stage in the professional career of teachers, which brings with it enhanced status and a fairly substantial salary increase (by August 2003 the top of the chartered teacher scale will be £35 199 compared to £28 707 at the top of the maingrade teacher scale). It should also be remembered that the introduction of chartered teacher status came, through the McCrone Agreement (2001), as a result of disquiet within the profession and a growing realisation that good teachers would need to be both acknowledged and rewarded. It is therefore reasonable to question the rationale for these two different aspects being lumped together within one framework. Indeed, they each had their own origins which predated the formal agreement to establish a national CPD strategy.

The power of the individual teacher in relation to the two standards differs enormously. With regard to the SFR it is obligatory - if full registration with the GTCS is to be achieved – and in most cases the support required to meet the SFR will be funded and

coordinated by the employer. On the other hand, achievement of chartered teacher status will be optional, and will be funded by the individual teacher. This in effect creates a CPD market with the prospective chartered teacher as consumer. The power imbalance in this respect could be in part responsible for the increased effort by the Chartered Teacher Programme team to make teachers feel that they had taken part in an open and democratic consultation. Conversely, the statutory nature of the SFR did not dictate that such overt consumer appeasement would be necessary.

The national CPD framework: rhetoric and reality

In November 1999 Sam Galbraith, as Minister for Children and Education, announced the development of a national framework of CPD for teachers in Scotland. The press release (SEED press release, SE1203/1999, 6 November 1999) stated that:

‘In keeping with its commitment to attract, motivate and retain high-quality teachers the Scottish Executive is creating a new framework for the continuing professional development of teachers.’

The statement suggested an agenda motivated principally by recruitment and retention issues, one that would clearly be controlled SEED, and interestingly made no mention of the contribution of other relevant stakeholders. The statement went on to claim that SEED would ‘aim to promote greater professionalism among teachers’ again assuming control of the framework and not suggesting in any way that teachers should take ownership, or be involved in, the development of their own professionalism.

The content and tone of subsequent CPD-related press releases changed over time, presenting a variety of justifications for the CPD framework and using a variety of registers to speak to different interest groups. For example, in October 2000, Peter Peacock, the Deputy Minister for Children and Education, announced the first meeting of the Ministerial Strategy Group, using soft, feel-good language to highlight the partnership nature of CPD development. He assured us that CPD would address ‘the current and future needs and expectations of schools, pupils, parents and teachers themselves’. In January 2001 Jack McConnell, then Minister for Education, Europe and External Affairs, introduced yet another reason for teachers’ CPD – to prepare teachers ‘to adapt to an ever changing world’. McConnell also hinted at equality of access for teachers, engaging in a discourse of teacher empowerment where, in direct contrast to Sam Galbraith’s 1999 statement, he expected teachers to take some control of the CPD agenda. It is apparent from the examination of such official statements that SEED has not sought to advocate one particular rationale for the development of the CPD framework. This apparent lack of agreement on the intended purpose of the framework indicates that perhaps the Government’s motivation comes from elsewhere:

‘Governments seek to use education for specific purposes: as a means of improving economic productivity, as workforce training, as a sorting and selection mechanism for distributing opportunities.’

(Ozga, 2000, p 10)

Ozga then goes on to suggest that in addition to economic motivations, governments can also address cultural concerns through education; a purpose which could be seen as particularly relevant within the post-devolution³ context in Scotland:

‘... education has been understood as a site of cultural transmission, as a place where national identities could be fostered – or revised – and as a way of protecting and honouring ideas of heritage that connect to nation and identity.’

(ibid.)

Perhaps for some of the reasons suggested by Ozga, the Government’s principal reason for supporting the development of the CPD framework is more to do with having control of the teaching profession than it is about professional outcomes. Indeed, Sachs (2001) points out that this phenomenon is evident in many countries, including the UK, USA and Australia. She claims that despite rhetoric to the contrary, the articulation of professional standards is more to do with standardising practice than it is about enhancing quality. If this is the case in the Scottish context, then it is highly unlikely that such an agenda would be openly articulated in official SEED press releases.

In subscribing to a standards-based approach to teaching we are in effect ‘uncritically participat[ing] in the standards-based movement’ (Delandshere & Arens, 2001, p547). If this is the case then it could be argued that the SFR and the SCT, and indeed the entire CPD framework, are more about encouraging a certain way of thinking about teaching and teachers than they are about planning a coherent framework for the professional development of teaching.

Nonetheless, the evidence in this paper indicates that the consultation on the development of the SCT has been much more open and participative than that of the SFR. Indeed, the rhetoric in documents published by the Chartered Teacher Programme team, and that used by interviewees to describe the process, creates a picture of bottom–

up policy development, where those directly impacted (teachers) have a powerful voice. Yet it seems that despite the project team's seeming commitment to this approach, SEED has decided that it wants the end product to be changed to align more closely with the SFR, presumably citing the 'coherence' argument again. The extent to which the development of the SCT has been truly open is therefore debatable yet the perception that it was, remains; evidence that the careful construction of rhetoric can be a very powerful tool in the policy development process (Edwards and Nicoll, 2001).

In terms of consultation approaches, this paper has highlighted both similarities and differences in the SFR and the SCT. However, perhaps the most significant difference is that whereas consultation on the SFR initially appears to be less democratic, and therefore easier to be critical of, it actually could be said to be more honest, making few overt claims to having been wide-ranging and democratic. Consultation on the development of the SCT, on the other hand, was characterised by a very slick public relations spin arguably designed to give the impression of participation, yet resulting in SEED, through the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD, having ultimate control. However, as the implementation of the Chartered Teacher Programme draws nearer, reality will begin to become more evident, and will inevitably be contrasted with the rhetoric. Views of the programme will begin to be shaped by experience and not purely by official discourse. Whether or not teachers support the SCT and its associated programme may well depend on the extent to which the rhetoric and reality match. Edwards and Nicoll (2001), however, argue that the crucial thing is not whether they match, but rather 'which discussion is more persuasive and why' (p104).

The extent to which teachers really have a voice in education policy development is an area of significant contention. Should one believe the elite figures interviewed in this study, one could be forgiven for being convinced of the argument that teachers in Scotland have the opportunity to be involved in policy development if they wish:

‘they [teachers] already have the opportunity for a direct role... and there is a consultative process with virtually every policy development, and they can contribute to that as well.’

(senior HMIE figure).

This statement seems to imply that those who do not become involved in policy development have consciously made the decision not to do so. In reality, however, it seems that Humes’ (1986) concept of ‘patronage’ is alive and well in terms of teachers’ opportunities to contribute to national developments. And while it cannot be disputed that most new education policies do involve an element of consultation with the profession, responding to consultation does not necessarily mean that respondents’ view will be valued or taken on board. Indeed, what might be perceived as apathy on the part of teachers in terms of contribution to consultation exercises is possibly a response to the feeling that there is little point in contributing if the consultation exercise is principally about demonstrating democracy in the process, and in reality has little effect on a pre-determined outcome.

Conclusions

The emerging national framework for teachers in Scotland is increasingly showing signs of continuity in its component parts; standards are being written in similar styles using clearly identifiable language, thereby encouraging continuity of interpretation. However,

fitting component parts designed for different purposes into a framework is not the result of strategic planning, a fact acknowledged by one of the Chartered Teacher Programme team interviewed in this study who was unequivocal that '*The Standard [SCT] is not the outcome of any process of systematic national planning*'.

Nonetheless, the Government is keen for teachers' CPD to be seen in the context of a planned, coherent and responsive framework. If teachers are to sign up to it then they need to be seen to have a voice in its development - hence the numerous consultation exercises. However, quantity of consultation does not necessarily result in quality consultation, and there is a need to ask questions about the extent to which teachers' contributions are taken on board. Firstly, if teachers have not had the opportunity to familiarise themselves with the debate surrounding a particular consultation then it is unlikely that they will be able to participate in a meaningful way (Purdon, 2001). And secondly, without a clear commitment to value teachers' responses and develop policies accordingly, then consultation is little more than public validation of pre-determined policy.

Despite recognition of both shared and divergent themes in the consultation procedures used for the SFR and the SCT, it seems evident that the CPD agenda is ultimately controlled by SEED, aided and abetted perhaps by a general acceptance of the inevitability of political control in education. This inevitability seems to urge pragmatic acceptance of the situation:

‘there is an argument of course that if we’re too democratic we will get nothing done, and that if you have the political will, the political will will win the argument’

(senior GTCS official)

However, in failing properly to address issues of purpose and values in terms of CPD policy, the current consensus may well prove to be unsustainable. Raffe et al. (2002) illustrate this in their analysis of policy leading to the Higher Still exams debacle, where the revised Scottish secondary school examination system all but broke down, suggesting that ‘postponing fundamental debates about values’ (p183) ultimately made the policy impossible to manage.

There is an inherent danger in accepting the inevitability of SEED control. After all, if teachers and other stakeholders do not take the lead in shaping the professional agenda, then the education community in Scotland runs the risk of becoming blind to alternative options. This is particularly the case in the development of CPD policy where already a standards-based conception of teaching appears to be seen as the norm, and where real debate on alternatives has been notable by its absence. Delandshere and Arens (2001) warn of the dangers in accepting standards-based models which do not require those involved to consider or articulate their own conception(s) of teaching, resulting in a situation where eventually ‘it becomes impossible... to entertain alternative perspectives on teaching and education outside of the framework provided... by the standards’ (p547).

Notes

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Scottish Educational Research Association’s Annual Conference in Dundee, September 2002.

¹ Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) began operating as an Executive Agency of the Scottish Executive on 1 April 2001. The move to agency status removed the former HMI's role in policy development, instead focussing on inspection, review and reporting. While HMIE no longer has a direct role in policy development, it does provide professional advice to Scottish Ministers based on its programme of inspections and reviews. Agency status implies independence and impartiality, although HMIE remains directly responsible to the Scottish Executive for its work.

² There are 23 'Professional Standards' in the SFR, grouped under three categories: professional knowledge and understanding; professional skills and abilities; and professional values and personal commitment. In addition, each professional standard has a number of 'Illustrations of Professional Practice'.

³ Education is one of the devolved functions of the Scottish Parliament, which was established in July 1999.

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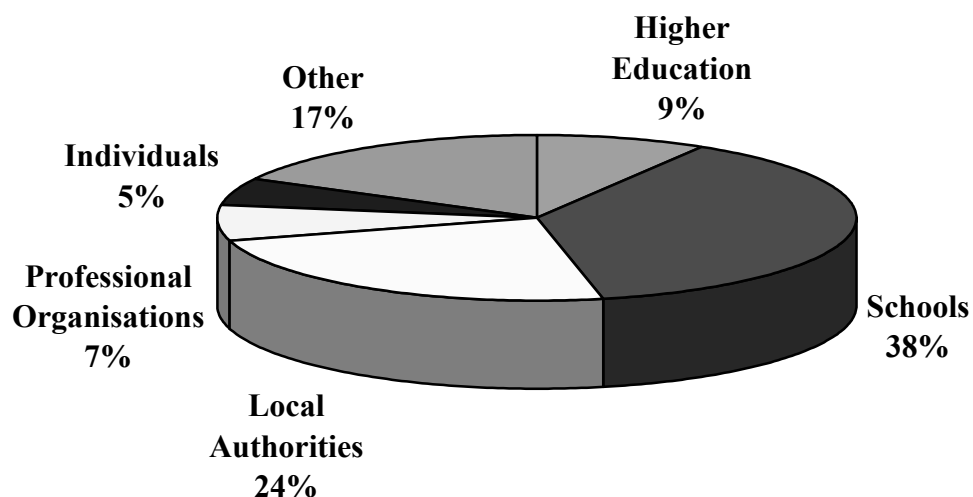
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Figure 1: SFR consultation response categories



n=58